THE NECESSITY OF CHRISTIAN SVBIECTION.

Demonstrated, and proved by the Doctrine of Christ, and the Apostles; the practice of Primitive Christians, the rules of Religion, cases of conscience, and consent of later Orthodox Divines.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τίμα, τίμα εὐνοῶν αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι αὐτῷ, εὐχόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. *Theophylus lib.* 1.

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1 PET. 2. 17.
Feare God, honour the King.

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THE NECESSITY OF Christian Subjection.

ROM. 13. 5.

Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake.

WOuld men but meditate, or were they perswaded of the truth of the Prophet's speech, (1 *Sam.*15.22,23.) *Behold to obey is better then Sacrifice, and to hearken then the fat of Rams; for Rebellion is as the sinne of Witchcraft, and stubbornnesse is as Iniquity and Idolatry.* (Were they I say perswaded of this truth) there would not be so little hearkening to the commands of Authority, nor so little obeying what they heare; nor would men runne so fiercely into the fearefull sin of Rebellion, onely to maintaine and justifie their owne *sacrifice of fooles*; which is indeed no other then their foolish imaginations have devised, and their vaine thoughts have set up as an Idoll to themselves. Or were wee not fallen into those last and worst of times prophecied of by the

Eccles. 5. 1. *Olympiodor. in loc.*

Apostle (2 *Tim.* 3. 1. 5.) wherein men that make shew of godlinesse (yea many that make most shew of it) have onely a shew, but deny the power of it, being proud, cursed speakers, disobedient to parents: Proud indeed, when they dare exalt themselves against Gods Vicegerent; Cursed speakers, when they dare libell and slander Prince and Prelate; Disobedient to Parents, Naturall, Ecclesiasticall, and Politicall; were we not I say fallen into such times, I should not need to urge the Apostles inference, which the unseasonable sinnes of these seasons make so seasonable: [*Wherefore ye must needs be subject, &c.*]

His Majesties large Declaration, *p.* 12. 13. 225. 256. 257. *&c.*

In which words, *Infert conclusionem Principaliter intentam, Aq.* wherein, *Concludit Paranesin subjectionis ejusque necessitatem, Rol.* shewing that we must obey the Magistrate, not onely for feare of punishment, but much more because that (although the Magistrate hath no power over the conscience of man, yet seeing he is Gods Minister) he cannot be resisted by any good conscience, *Gen: Notes, ex Calv. & Bez. In qua duas potissimum urget causas ob quas potestatibus necessario obediendum, Marlor.* 1. First their power to cause feare of wrath. 2. Secondly our conscience to obey Gods ordinance; In respect of both which we must be subject not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake:

Wherein I shall consider these 5 particulars.

1. The Illation, [*Wherefore,*]
2. The Duty, [*subject*]
3. The Necessity, [*must needs*]
4. The persons obliged, [*Ye*]
5. The Reasons perswading, and those twofold:
   1. From feare of wrath, although [*not onely for wrath.*]
   2. For conscience, [*But also for conscience sake.*]

Aquin. Lyr. Calv. Bez. Marlor. Rocell.

1. The Illation and inference in this word [*Wherefore*] being a conclusion, wherein *Quod initio praeceperat de praestandâ Magistratibus obedientiâ, nunc per modum collectionis repetit, sed cum expositione: Calv.* It will be convenient for conceiving

ving fully the Apostles meaning, and the force of his Arguments, and the drift of this conclusion, that we reflect backe as farre as the beginning of this Chapter; where (besides those two mentioned, *vers.* 4. Of 1. Terror to the ill, which I reserve to be handled under that of wrath. 2. And Reward to the good, which I referre to that of conscience.) We shall finde foure Reasons premised to inforce this conclusion, [*Wherefore ye must need be subject, &c.*]

1. First, Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, (*v.*1.) for there is no power but of God. How much soever we may perhaps dislike them, and how ill soever they may sometimes use their power; As *Pilate* did his, in crucifying him whom he should have loosed, and loosing him whom he should have crucified; yet our Saviour himselfe acknowledgeth, that even this abused power was δεδομένον ἄνωθεν, given him from above; (*Joh.* 19. 11.) For misery comes not out of the dust, neither doth affliction spring out of the earth: (*Job.* 5. 6.) But as *Omne bonum desuper*, Every good gift is from above, (*Jam.*1.17.) so is there no evill in the City, and the Lord hath not done it, (*Amos* 3. 6.) (i.e.) *Malum pœnæ*, no evill of punishment.

Jo.19.20. Matth.27. 26.

August. de Civitat. Dei, l.5. c. 21.

Per me Reges regnant, By me Kings raigne, is the generall ground of the Charter; both of good and evill Princes, and Nobles, and all the Judges of the earth, (*Prov.* 8. 15, 16.) He it is that raiseth unto *David* a righteous branch, a King who shall raigne and prosper, and execute judgement and justice upon the earth, in whose dayes the people shall be safe; And he it is that gives an evill King in his anger, and takes a good King away in his wrath; *Qui regnare facit hominem hypocritam propter peccata populi*, (*Job.* 34. 30.) vulg. So that whether they be good or evill, we must be subject, sithence there is no power but of God; Μήποτε καὶ Θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε, lest we will be found fighters against God, whose power none is able to resist, whether it bee for protecting or for punishing; [*Wherefore we must needs be subject.*]

Jer. 33. 5, 6. Hos.13.11.

Act.5.39.

2. Secondly, they are not onely not without God, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, and so of him *permissivè*; but they are the ordinance of God himselfe, and so of him *positivè*, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι,

Citat.

 ordained

ordained of God (*verſ.* 1.) whereupon they worthily uſe in their ſtile, not onely *Permiſſione Divinâ*, or *Providentiâ Divinâ*, although thoſe be good titles, taken in a good ſenſe; (yet they imply ſome intermediate meanes betwixt God and thoſe who beare them:) But Princes write *Dei Gratiâ*; for by the Grace of God (no favour of man) they are what they are; ſo that I may ſay of their government, as Saint *Paul* ſaid of his Apoſtleſhip, It is not of man, nor by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father. For, *Cujus juſſu homines naſcuntur hujus juſſu & Reges conſtituuntur; apti his, qui in illo tempore ab ipſis regnantur.* (*Iren. lib.* 5. *cap.* 24.) Which may be demonſtratively evidenced, if we ſhall take a ſurvey of the *Series*, and ſucceſſion of Governours, from the firſt man that was placed upon the earth, whom we finde created with an intention to make him Gods Vicegerent; (*Gen.* 1. 26.) and at his very firſt ſetting foot upon the earth, actually inveſted with Monarchicall government: (*verſ.* 27, 28.) That government being indeed the ſpeciall forme, whereby he could reſemble the Image of God who is in Heaven, as he made him upon Earth the ſole unequalled Monarch, from whom alone *Quicquid eſt ab uno eſt, & eſt id quod eſt*; and therefore he is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power, for of him, and for him, and through him are all things.

Gal. 1. 1.

Boet. de unit. & uno.

Apoc. 4. 11.

Rom. 11. 36.

Nor was it his intention that he ſhould onely governe the Beaſts already created. But alſo he made him to be the Monarch, And confirmed his Authority *Jure naturali, Poteſtate patriâ*, over all mankinde, which ſhould be propagated after him; Who as the Angells and thoſe of Heaven had their begining from God by Creation, and therefore were ſubject to him; ſo all the *Armies* upon earth were to deduce their ofſpring from that one *Adam* by Generation, and ſo to owe to him ſubjection; whereas had not God intended to have Principality depend onely upon his owne inſtitution, and not upon the ſubordinate Nobles, nor the multitudes popular election, It had beene as eaſie for him, to have Created a Company, a Colony, a Country, a Nation, a World of men upon earth, with his one *faciamus*, As it was, and as he did, ſo many Legions of Angels

Theophil. l. 2.

Chryſoſt. Hom. 34. *in* 1 *Cor.*

gells in the Heavens; that so out of those choice Colonies, themselves might have made choice of a commaunder. But he, who found *the Heavens* not free from mutiny, when he produced a multitude of Inhabitants there, although all were his ofspring, would not give the least colour to contention for superiority or equality, nor pretext of Disobedience against his Monarch upon earth, whil'st he suffers no Subject to be set by him but such as owed the Subjection and duty of a Sonne in Descending from him; Thereby teaching all posterity, how the power of a Prince over his Subjects is, and ought to be acknowledged, as naturall, as the power of a Father is over his Sonne; yea and also thereby signifying, That as Naturally there can be but one Father of one Childe, So Politiquely there should be but one Prince and Monarch of one People and Nation. whereupon God did not create two men (no nor *Eve*, but out of the rib of *Adam*) that so frō them all others should issue, and they might rule promiscuously, or that each of them should rule such as would make choice to be under his government, rather then under the others, (although perhaps propagated of the other) Nor that the mightiest Hunter, he, that could get most, should governe most, as afterwards it fell out in the degenerating dayes of Nimrod. But he created onely one, thereby to intimate, How far Monarchicall government is to be preferred before any other, Aristocraticall, Democraticall, Oligarchicall, or the like. This and this alone of man on earth, being an Idea or resemblance of Gods government in Heaven; And we pray dayly, that his will may be done on earth, as it is in Heaven; And how can it be so, if we reject or resist that forme of government? As also, thereby he implyes, that all other formes of government are against the course of Nature, different from the patterne of Heaven, diverse from Divine institution, and indeed Punishments rather then blest governments, If they be compared with Monarchie; Which made the wisest of Kings affirme, that many Princes are imposed for the transgression of a Land, But that Realme onely indures long which is ruled by one man of understanding and knowledge (*Prov.* 28. 2.) Which Doctrine seemes to be squared to

Apoc. 12.

Theophil. Chrysost. ubi supr.

Gen. 10. 9, 10.

Dan. Aphorss. Polit. p. 402. 24.

Matth. 6. 10.

Gods

Gods owne practice throughout all ages, whensoever he designed any governour over his people the Jewes (after they were taken notice of for his peculiar) although for a long time
1 Sam. 8. he retained the royall supreame Title of King to himselfe, (during which time, he oft times immediatly delivered his Regall mandates by Urim, Thummim, Visions, Oracles, Prophesies &c.) Yet he appointed one Supreame Vicegerent over them, and not many (for as for the *Sanhedrim* they were but as *Moses* or the High preists privie Counsell, Or as delegated Judges
Judg. c. to. c. 15. because of the multiplicity of businesses) One I say and not many, witnesse *Moses* 40 yeares betwixt *Egypt* and *Canaan*, *Joshua* neere 60 yeares settling them in *Canaan*, after them *Judah*, after him *Othniell*, then *Ehud*, then *Shamgar*, then *Deborah*, then *Gideon*, then *Tolah*, then *Jair*, then *Jephthah*, then *Sampson*, But never above one at one time. And how lamentable the times were when there was not one Supreame, but the multitude tooke power into their owne hands; that
Judg. 19. & 20. hideous story of the licentious *Danites*, and the ravished *Levites* wife, and the revenge of one upon another may serve to astonish all posterity, and affright them from affecting Anarchie; yea and when God, after that he had in mercy looked upon their misery, sent them new Judges, *Hely*, and *Samuel* successively, and they not therewith satisfied would have a King like other nations, he doth not set severall Kings over
1 Sam. 8. 5. Josh. 12. them, as *Joshua* found 31 over the Land at their entrance, but he appointed them onely one King (1. *Sam*: 8. 22.) As being safest for his people, best resembling his government and most agreable to his Ordinance; Wherefore we must needes be Subject to such forme of government, for it is the Ordinance of God.

Oh, how much therefore are those too blame who go about to alter this forme of government, and to introduce a new deformed device of their owne ambitious invention, wherein they are not agreed, whether they shall be stiled 1. The States of England, as some of their Preachers (forgetting the King in their praiers) have sycophantically phrased them; 2. Or whether they shall be entituled, The Perpetuall Senate,

nate, or Assessours of the Kingdome, as some have endeavoured to derive their stile, as the Impresse of a Republick; 3. Or whether they shall be dignified with the Princely Attribute of Gentlemen of the Crowne of England (to which should be annexed the power of electing their King although hereditary) as some of themselves have ambitiously expressed their affectation in assimilation to that of Poland; onely to the end that themselves might be sharers in Supremacy. A Government which admitting a Monarch whom yet they dare not deny, is neither Monarchie, Aristocracy, Democracy, nor Oligarchie; and Anarchie, I dare say, they would not have it intituled; A Government which if Aristotle himself were to sit in Councell at their close Committees he could not yet resolve what to call it, a government never grounded on the Ordinance of God, nor practiced in any established Common-weale. And what fearefull effects must necessarily follow it, Besides, that it is easie to conjecture when men leave the fountaines of the living waters, and take themselves to Cisterns of their owne digging, It may also be apparant to any indifferent understanding who reads or heares the story of *Hen.* 3. when there was an attempt of 24. Assessours and a trayterous appointing *Les Douze Piers*, far short of this confused insolency, what Robberies, what Rapes, what Murthers, what Burglaries, what Extortions, what Exactions followed, (every one shrouding himselfe under that Assessour, which he followed, yea and every one of the Assessours after a little time, bandying himselfe against another, either for their owne faction, or favouring of their followers) is rather to be imagined then reported, yet those times too really felt it, and all must necessarily taste the like bitter fruit, who will plant and nurse the tree of popular faction.

Speed H. 3. p. 635. ex Mat. Westmonast. Martin H. 3. p. 66, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74.

And alas how foolish and fond of flitting (to use King *James* his Scottish Proverbe in another case) are those people which will be bewitched to follow these many-headed *Hydra's*, before the voice of the Lambe, and never consider that old Adage *Citius impletur unus saccus, quàm plures?* hath there beene so much pains bestowed in vaine, if it be in vain, (As the Apostle

Vpon the Lords Prayer.

 speaks

speakes in another case) to bring this Kingdome from an Heptarchie to a Monarchie; that now one part of this Iland should be turned from a Monarchie to a *Roman* Decemvirate, a *Venetian* Senate, a *Low-countrey* State, nay to a Government without a name, God forbid; *Vis unita fortior*, but a Kingdome divided cannot stand. I beseech you therefore brethren marke them diligently which cause divisions amongst you, and avoid them; (*Rom.* 16, 17.) for those who at first cause divisions, in Opinion, in Doctrine, and in Religion, will at the length attempt divisions in Government, in Policie, in Countries and Kingdomes. Let us in the feare of God consider with our selves, That if there be no power but of God, even the punishing and persecuting power; and if we must be subject even to that, lest we should fight against God, Oh how much more then where Kings are nursing fathers, ought we to shew our subjection with all readinesse and chearfulnesse? If Saint *Paul* inforce obedience to the Prince with so many forcible Arguments, when that Tyrant *Nero* (who devoured Christians like a Lyon) raigned and raged. Oh how should we urge and presse this point, when a *Constantine*, a Patron of the Church, and patterne of Piety is our President in religious exercises, as well as President over us with righteous government; for certainely, [*They that resist, resist the Ordinance of God*] which is the third reason whereupon our Apostle grounds this inference, *Wherefore ye must needs be subject.*

Matth. 12. 25.

Esa. 49. 23

2. Tim. 4. 17.

3. For as in his Church Christ gave some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastours and Teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints, and for the worke of the Ministry; so God in the Common-weale appointed some to be Kings ὑπερέχοντες, most eminent and excellent above all other, some to be Governours under them ἡγεμόνες δ' αὐτῶν πεμπομένοι, sent by Commission from them: Amongst whom some are Nobles, some Judges, (*Prov.* 8. 16.) some Priests, (for those howsoever some conceive of them, were not incapable of government in the Common-weale;) yea, some things there are which could not be decided without them, (*Deut.* 17. 8. to 12.) some are Governours of Cities, (*Deut.* 21. 3, 4) some Rulers

Ephes. 4. 11, 12.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

Vers. 14.

Exod. 40. 15.

Heb. 7. 11.

Rulers of thousands, some of hundreds, some of tennes, (*Exod.* 18. 25, 26.) and some live meerely in subjection, as the inferiour poore servants, &c. whom *Aristotle*, that *Linceus* of Nature affirmeth, Nature it selfe framed onely to that use; and every man is bound in conscience by the law of God to abide in that state wherein God hath placed him, and to be contented with his Vocation, Degree, and Calling, (1 *Cor.* 7. 20, 21, 22.) unlesse he will be as guilty of confusion in the body Politique, or Ecclesiasticall, as the members should be in the body naturall, if one should strive to usurpe anothers place; The foot the head, the eare the eye; and unlesse we will be as guilty in resisting the ordinance of God, as they should be of deforming the Act of his Creation.

Polit. l. 1. c. 3, 4.

1 Cor. 14. 12. to 31.

Submit your selves therefore to all manner of ordinance of man for the Lords sake, Ἄρον τὸ σὸν, Take that which is thine owne and goe thy way. If thou beest a Ruler, doe it with diligence; If an Officer, waite on thy office; If a Teacher, attend to teaching; If but a Servant, doe that without sloathfulnesse; (*Rom.* 12. 7. to 11.) If a Judge, be learned; (*Psal.* 2. 11.) yea, and upright too: (*Psal.* 58. 1.) If thou art to be judged, be obedient, or else thou must be cut off, both for thine owne sinne, and also for others example. Nor must thou be obedient onely when Superiours be good and courteous, but even when they are cruell and froward: Nor onely when they punish thee justly for ill doing, but even when thou suffereſt wrongfully, yet must thou endure for conscience sake; (1 *Pet.* 2. 18, 19.) which the Apostle confirmes by the example of our Saviour Christ, to (*vers.* 25.) who when he suffered resisted not, no nor so much as threatned; (*vers.* 23.) although he could have had more then 12 Legions of Angels; (*Matth.* 26. 53.) teaching us, that wee must not resist Authority, although unjustly oppressing; (much lesse justly ruling, although punishing.) 1. Neither offending it, (*Matth.* 17. 27.) 2. Nor defending our selves against it, (*Matth.* 26. 52.) what specious pretences soever we may make for it. For who might have pretended fairer in that kinde, then the Primitive Christians against Idolatrous Persecutors? yet they professe,

1 Pet. 2. 13 to 17. Matth. 20. 14.

Deut. 17. 9 to 13.

 that

Ambros. that *Arma sunt preces & lachrymæ*; so that *nemo nostrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec se adversus injustam violentiam vestrum, quamvis nimius, & copiosus noster sit populus, ulciscitur*: *Cyprian.* Who might have pretended more rightly the defence of himselfe, of his fellow Disciples, of his Master, yea of Religion, then Saint *Peter?* Yet heare our Saviours mandate, and his menace; His mandate, [*Put up thy sword into thy sheath*;] His menace, [*For all they which strike with the sword, shall perish by the sword.*] [*All*] whosoever, Clergy or Laity, strike against Authority, or without the licence of it, in what case soever, without exception of 1. *Se defendendo*, or 2. Maintenance of a Covenant, or 3. Defence of Religion. And what manner of Christians those men are, who dare resist their rightfull, righteous, religious Soveraigne; Or what manner of Religion that is, which they pretend gives priviledge to such rebellious practices, I leave to every good Christian to consider: Onely give me leave to tell you, sure I am, it is not such as was knowne to Primitive Christians; It is not such as was allowed by our Saviour to his Apostles; nor is it such as the Apostles taught the people of their times; for they without any cloake, *Sub moderamine inculpata tutela*, (which indeed never can be by Armes, but onely by Lawes:) Howsoever Pontificians and Consistorians conspire; as *Buchanan* laboured to beguile his Nation, and some of our Countrey men have beguiled themselves, and Jesuites would have beguiled the whole world; and without any distinction of offensive and defensive disobedience, the Apostles taught the Church of God; *That he which resists*, (be it how it will) *resists the ordinance of God.*

Aug. l. 22. cont. Faust. c. 75.

His Majesties Proclamation and Declaration, &c

4. [*And he that resists purchaseth to himselfe damnation.*] which is the fourth reason to inforce this [*Wherefore, &c.*] and beares a threefold reading. 1. *Judicium*, Judgement: *Tremel.* 2. *Condemnationem*, Condemnation: *Beza* & *Tompson.* 3. *Damnationem*, Damnation: *Vulgar* & *Kings Bible.* All which are but the Graduations of the punishments, implied by the originall, Κρῖμα; for not onely Ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει, (*Matth.* 5. 22.) they shall be in danger of the judgement of censure and condem-

condemnation of the censorious: Although this be a punishment which an ingenious spirit would willingly escape, which made *David* pray, *Psal.* 39. 8.) Let me not be made a rebuke unto the foolish, whilest they censure, reprove, condemne my actions in their Assemblies, much more a man that is shot through the head with popularity, as His Majestie saith of the then revolted *Rolloe*, as indeed all factious persons in Church and Common-weale are, especially if they aspire by, or adhere to the popular faction; For such, like the Cameleon, which turnes to all colours save white, lives onely by the aire, and delights rather in breath then other, *Ac si mallet coctam quam crudam*; so they who apply to popularity, and suit themselves to all company, saving the innocent, can live no longer (at least not with delight) then they sucke the breath of applause from the multitude. But behold, not onely those which sit in the gate (the Rulers) speake against such disobedient persons; but if they escape the songs of the Drunkards (who perhaps may whoop on their sides) yet shall very babes and sucklings chant their disloyalty, and the Vipers tongue shall slay them, (*Job.* 20. 16.) Thus an evill condemnation shall fall upon them, whereby their name shall rot, and their memoriall shall stinck, even κρίσει, under the censure of those who are as censorious as themselves: Nor onely so, but Ἑαυτοῖς κρῖμα λήψονται, They shall receive Judgement, and Condemnation: 1. Both Judgement before the Tribunall of men, where the sentence of guiltinesse shall proceed against them; and when sentence is given upon them, they shall be condemned, for such ungodly persons shall not be able to stand in Judgement, neither these sinners in the Congregation of the righteous. 2. And also they shall receive Condemnation from the Justice of God, who stands in the Congregation of Princes, (as to survey, so to assist) and is a Judge amongst the earthly Gods, yea even of those whom they sometimes cannot come by to judge according to their deservings; who when he shall arise (as he will arise) to judge the earth, he will recompence such wicked persons after their deservings; he will reprove them, and set before them, even in Order, the things that they have done: As first

Larger Declaration, p. 25. 40.

Ps. 69. 12.

Prov. 10. 7.

Ps. 41. 8.

Ps. 109. 6.

Ps. 1. 15.

Ps. 82. 1.

Vers. 8.

Ps. 50. 21.

their Pride, next their Covetousnesse to maintaine it, after that their Rebellion to declare it, then their Hypocrisie and counterfeiting Religion to vaile and defend it, and at the
Ps.55.16. length he will bring Death hastily upon them, and they shall goe downe into Hell, sithence such wickednesse is in their dwellings and amongst them; and is not this a fearefull Judgement and Condemnation? so fearefull, as what can be conceived to be added? And yet behold, 3. Κατάκριμα, *Rom.*14.23. Κατακέκριται, the Judgement, Condemnation, yea, Damnation of an accusing conscience shall consummate their misery, even
Matth.27. such as drave *Judas* to be his owne Executioner upon earth;
3,4,5. This shall doe continuall execution of Gods just judgement upon them in Hell, by that worme that never dies, and that fire
Esay 66. which never shall be quenched, where their rebellious carkas-
24. ses shall be an abhorring to all flesh; wherefore for the escaping such fearfull 1. Judgement, 2. Condemnation, 3. Damnation here, and hereafter from God and man, *We must needs be subject.*

2. [*Subject*] Which is the duty; That as the Devill overcame man by his disobedience to God, so man may returne to God and overcome the Devill, by obedience to man for the
Matth.20. Lords sake. Christianity is a Schoole of Humility, and we must
27,28. not look every one upon our own excellencies, but upon other
Philip.2.4 mens; having the same minde in us, which was in Christ Jesus,
Vers.5. to in giving (not in taking) honour, preferring one before ano-
9. ther, ταπεινοῦντες ἑαυτούς, humbling our selves as little children;
Rom. 12. As they submit to their Parents, so must we be subject to our
10. Prince, for he is the Person to whom principally the Apostle
Matth.18. presseth this subjection; as *Aquin. Dion. Carth. Bruno.* and
2. *Claud.* glosse it. The subjection to others being for his sake, as the subjection to him is for the Lords sake; which that we may performe aright, let us consider these three particulars:

1. *Qualibus*, To what manner of Princes we must be subject.
2. *In quibus*, In what things we must be subject.
3. *Quomodo*, How we must expresse our subjection.

1. *Qualibus*, To what manner of Princes we must be subject.

ject. ¶ As the Apostle injoynes Servants concerning obedience to their Masters, so say I to Subjects concerning their Soveraignes; Let as many as are under the yoke count their Governours worthy of all honour, (*Sive fideles, sive infideles*, whether they be gentle, or whether they be cruell) that the name of God and his Doctrine be not ill spoken of: 1. And if they be believing, let us not despise them because they are brethren, but rather doe service and be subject, because they are faithfull and beloved, and partakers of the benefit, to wit Redemption. 2. Or if they be unbelievers, let us not rebell, nor resist them; because although 1. *Quidam illorum dantur ad timorem & pœnam, & increpationem*, Some of them are sent meerely for a terrour and a punishment. 2. Yea, *Quidam ad illusionem & contumeliam, & superbiam*; Some of them set up themselves in pride, meerely to contemne, and scorne, and scoffe at their Subjects, as the persecuting Emperours did, when they exposed the Christians naked to fight with beasts and beastly Heathens. 3. Aswell as *Quidam ad correctionem & utilitatem subjectorum, & conservationem Justitiæ*; For a fatherly reformation of offendors, a loving protection of the obedient, and the preservation of Justice for both: Yet we must consider and confesse, that *Ad utilitatem Gentilium terrenum Regnum positum est à Deo, non à Diabolo, qui nunquam omnino quietus est; Imo qui nec ipsas quidem gentes vult in tranquillo agere, ut timentes regnum humanum*; Earthly Kingdomes are erected by God, not by the Devill, who as he is never quiet himselfe, so would he not have the people live in peace, (as appeares by his late practices) which government is the meanes to procure and preserve, preventing men from devouring those that are more righteous then themselves; And for being like the fishes of the Sea, or the creeping things who have no Ruler over them; for, *Per legum positiones repercutiant multiplicem gentilium injustitiam*, Kings and Princes by their Lawes restraine and bridle the fury and violence of our naturall corruptions; yea, and the worst of Princes is never worse then *Quemadmodum populi digni sunt Dei justo judicio in omnibus aliqualiter superveniente; Iren. l. 5. c. 24.* such as the people

1 Tim. 6. 1, 2.

Hab. 1. 13, 14.

have

have provoked God to set to afflict them, whose just judgement alwayes interposeth it selfe in such weighty cases. Although sometimes we know it not, oft-times we will not acknowledge it; which being so, may oblige every one of us to be subject to all powers, of all qualities, conditions, dispositions, tempers, religions, under whom the Lord hath placed us; *Sive* 1. *Nutriciis*, *sive* 2. *Hypocritis*, *sive* 3. *Hæreticis*, *sive* 4. *Tyrannis*; Whether they be noursing fathers, for whom we must praise God; or dissembling Hypocrites, or obstinate Heretickes, or bloudy Tyrants, for all which we must pray to God: Whatsoever *Sanders*, *Allen*, *Stapleton*, *Parsons*, *Mariana*, *Boucherius*, *Santarellus*, *&c.* on the *Romish* part: And *Knoxe*, *Buchanan*, *Gilbey*, *Goodman*, and *Daneus*, on the other extreame have formerly taught, *Calderwood* hath followed, and some too fiery spirits of late have seditiously and scandalously put in practice, of whom I may say in the Apostles language, If any man teach otherwise (then what I have affirmed) he consenteth not to the wholsome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Doctrine which is according to godlinesse; but is puffed up and knoweth nothing as he ought to know, but doateth about questions and strife of words, whereof commeth envy, strife, railings, evill surmiseings, froward disputations of men of corrupt mindes, and destitute of the truth, which thinke that gaine is godlinesse, (howsoever they pretend godlinesse rather then gaine) from such separate thy selfe: For howsoever we must performe active obedience to such Princes onely so farre as lawfully we may, *Calv. Bez. Marlor. Roloc. Genev. usque ad aras*, so long as *Cum Deo non comparabuntur*, they are not set in competition with God: *Tertul.* Yet we must performe passive obedience and absolute subjection, suffering without resistance, being subject without rebellion, even if they should command the most unjust, superstitious, idolatrous, prophane, or irreligious things which can be imagined; yet I say we must not rebell, unlesse we will renounce Christianity, but we must let this be, *Probatio subjectionis*, the touchstone of our subjection, even our patient and constant sufferings; For, *Quæ passos Apostolos scimus*

1 Tim. 6. 3, 4, 5.

Scorpiac.

Act. 4. 19.

Gloss. interim.

Tertul. ubi supr.

mus manifesta est Doctrina, The truth of this Doctrine is sealed by the Apostles sufferings, who indured of Heathen Princes, and for not renouncing Christianity, *Carceres, Vincula, Flagella, Saxa, Gladios, Impetus Judæorum, Cœtus Nationum, & Tribunorum elogia, & Regum auditoria, & Proconsulum Tribunalia, & Cæsaris nomen interpretem non habent*; Imprisonment, Bonds, Stripes, Stoning, Wounds, Violence of the Jewes, Conventing before the Gentiles, Questioning in the Courts of Tribunes, Examinations and Answers before Kings, Arraignements at the Tribunalls of Proconsuls, yea and could not finde an Appeale to the Emperour, any protection for their innocency; yet they not onely submitted themselves, and possessed their owne soules with patience, but also taught all pious people so to doe; as here our Apostle makes it apparent, and (*Titus* 3. 1, 2.) presseth it to all posterity: Put them in remembrance (for indeed we are too apt to forget) that they be subject to the Principalities and Powers, and that they be obedient, and ready to every good worke; that they speake evill of no man, (much lesse of Princes and Prelates, as some of late have done:) That they be no fighters, (much lesse Armed Rebels) but soft, lowly, gentle, shewing all meeknesse to all men, much more to Rulers; yea, and such effect did this Doctrine produce, that *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesiæ*; *Cypr.* The bloud of the Martyrs was the seed of the Church: The bloud, not the sword; that were too Turkish. And however, *Circa majestatem Imperatoris infamemur*, *Tert. ad Scap. l.* 2. They were slandered as disloyall to the Emperour; yet, *Nunquam Albiniani, vel Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani*; Never any *Albinian*, who being trusted betrayed the Government; Never any *Nigrian*, who made Religion the stalking-horse for Rebellion; Nor never any *Cassian* who assaulted his Soveraigne by Assassination, could be found amongst the Christians: *Christianus nullus est hostis nimirum Imperatoris, quem sciens à Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut & ipsum diligat, & revereatur, & honoret, & salvum velit, cum toto Romano Imperio, quousque seculum stabit, tam diu enim stabit; Colimus ergo Imperatorem, sic quomodo & nobis licet, & ipsi expedit,*

His Majesties Declaration *ubi supra.*

pedit, ut hominem à Deo secundum, & quicquid est à Deo consecutum, & solo Deo minorem; For no true Christian can be an enemy to his King or Emperour, whom he knowes to be placed over him by God, and therefore upon necessity must love him, reverence him, honour him, pray for him, and desire and indeavour his safety as the safety of the Kingdome; as being next to God, lesser onely then God, and endowed with the power which he hath from God, over all the men in his Dominions. Hereupon was it that the Christians fought so many valiant battels, and obtained so many glorious victories, even for Heathen and persecuting Emperours, yea even for *Julian* the Apostata himselfe; but never did they fight any Battell, pitched any Field, arraied any Army, armed any Legions, or so much as entred into consultation against their Emperour. And thus you see, *Qualibus*, to what manner of Princes we must be subject. And I thinke all will willingly conclude, *Si parendum est magistratui prophano, certè multo magis obedire oportet Sancto, & Christiano*; *Bez.* If Heathens were thus obeyed, much more should Christians; If persecuting, much more pious Princes, such as our Gracious Soveraigne, whose clemency may challenge our love, aswell as his Power command our duty, whom God preserve, and prosper long over us in honour and felicity, and give us the grace and gratitude to be subject, *not onely for feare, but even for conscience sake*. And so I come to consider

In Matth. 22, 21.

2. *In quibus?* In what things we must be Subject? Wherein the true stating of the Question is much differenced from the mistaken and mistaking Tenents of many of these times, who conceive and would beare the world in hand.

1. That they are bound no further to Subjection, then with a Rightly Regulated Conscience, they may performe Active Obedience to all their Superiours Edicts, and Commands.

2. That they are not bound to Active Obedience, where they have a doubting Couscience, although not fully informed by the right rule of Reason, or expresse authority of Gods word.

3. That the Supreame Magistrate, must have expresse affirmative warrant in the word of God for all his inventions, or else

else the Subject needs not obey them.

Whereas the truth is.

1. Concerning the first, That although Active Obedience binds onely in the Lord, yet absolute Subjection is due without any resistance for the Lords sake, Ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει, To humane Ordinances (1 *Pet.* 2.13.) Even when man ordaines, not the Lord (1 *Cor.* 7.12.) yet such a man as is ordained of the Lord and so presumed to ordaine according to the Lord, we may not in any wise resist. Ephes.6.5.

2. And as concerning the second, Although when man is left to his owne liberty, The rule is to be observed, *Quod dubitas ne feceris*, because he that doubteth is condemned of his owne Conscience, yet when we are Commanded by Authority, and we onely doubt in our selves whether that be good and lawfull which is commanded, or not, The Rule of Saint *Augustine* must be observed *Si dubitas feceris*, If you onely doubt doe it, except you have expresse warrant out of Gods word, or the Analogie of faith, and undeniable necessary Consequence to the contrary; authority must turne the Scale of thy doubting conscience, and weigh downe thy judgemet to Active Obedience, so that Rom. 14. 23.

3. The Magistrate is not bound to expresse Text for warrant of each of his particular edicts; It is sufficient that it is contained in his generall Commission *Dixi Dij estis*, I have said ye are Gods, (*Psal.* 82.6.) and therefore have committed my delegated power to you, *Per me Reges Regnant*, By me Kings raigne (*Pro:* 8 15.) And therefore by my authority may lay injunctions upon their Subjects, & they are obliged to Active Obedience, except they can produce a negative Act of Parliament out of the high Court of heaven; for Princes are not only instead of God by representation (*Exod.* 4.16.) but they have the power of God over those to whom they have cōmission (*Exod.* 7.1.) I have made thee *Pharaohs* God; yea & put case the Subject could produce a contradictory Command of God to that of his King, yet is not his passive obedience dispensed withall, nor any part of his absolute Subjection dissovled or cancelled, But we must needs be Subject, (at least by suffering *Ambros. To.3. Epist. l.5. Orat.*

if not by doing) in all things, even against the Dictate of a doubting, yea or a discerning Conscience.

3. But then in the next place it remaines to be resolved by what meanes, or in what manner this Subjection is to be expressed, which must be by these seaven meanes following; where there are not *Jura Regni* by mutuall consent of Prince and people to supersede them, or dispense with any of them.

1. First by praying for them (1*Tim*:2.1.10.4.) I exhort therefore that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions and giving of thankes, be made for all men, for Kings and all that are in authority, that we may leade a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty, for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. Where observe we must pray, 1. To the end that we may live godly and peaceably, when we did not live so before: 2. That they may come to the knowledge of the truth, when they knew it not before: 3. And that they may be saved, when they were not in that state before. None so bad then, to and for whom we are not to expresse our subjection by this duty

Et Tit.3. 2. Secondly, we must speake no evill of them; (*Exod.*22.
1.2.Cstat. 28.) Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the Ruler of thy people. Is it fit to say to a King, Thou art wicked; and to Princes, ye are ungodly? (*Job*.34.18.) No certainly, nothing lesse; and therefore follow the counsell of *Martialis*, who lived in the Primitive times, learned of the Apostles, and taught to succession, *A murmuratione custodite corda vestra*; Keepe not onely your hands from mutiny, and your tongues from muttering, but even your hearts from repining.

3. Thirdly, we must not dispute their Commands; for where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may say unto him, what doest thou: (*Eccles.* 8.4.) (*i.e.*) Not publiquely and illegally to raise opposition against him; onely we may privately informe our owne judgement, to prepare us peaceably either for active obedience, or for Martyrdome.

4. Fourthly, we must expresse our subjection by doing all

their commands, which are not directly against God; resolveing with the *Israelites*, All that thou commandest us we will do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will goe; onely the Lord thy God be with thee. Josh. 1. 16,17.

5. Fiftly, we must expresse it by suffering all punishments patiently without any resistance; for those things which we dare not doe when they command them, because they appeare (not seeme) to be directly against God, (as hath beene before demonstrated;) imitating S. *Chrysostome*, (*Epist. ad Cyriacum*) *Cum à civitate fugarer dicebam intra meipsum, si quidem vult Regina me exulem agere, agat in exilium; Domini est Terra & plenitudo ejus; & si vult secare, secet; idem passus est Isaias, &c. Et si substantiam auferre, auferat, nudus exivi ex utero matris meæ, nudus etiam revertar*; If the Queene will have me goe into banishment, let her banish me; The earth is the Lords, and all that therein is. If she will have me sawen in sunder, I submit my selfe; *Isaias* suffered so before me. If she will confiscate my goods, I am contented; Naked came I out of my mothers wombe, and naked must I returne againe. Behold, this must be the patience of the Saints. Apoc. 13. 10.

6. Sixthly, by supplying meanes, *Ad necessaria secundum status sui conditionem*; *Lyr.* paying due tribute to our Princes; for this is the manner, *Quomodo velit te subjici potestatibus, reddere jubens cui Tributum, Tributum; cui Vectigal, Vectigal*; (i. e.) *quæ sunt Cæsaris, Cæsari, & quæ Dei Deo. Tertul.* Which tribute must be paid without limitation of the quantity before, or accompt of the disposing of it after payment, *Gloss. Ordinar.* If *Calvin* understand it aright, (which I dare not assure, nor will I dispute) for, *Neque nostrum est vel Principibus præscribere, quantum in res singulas impendant, vel eos ad calculum vocare*: We have no power to prescribe to Princes what they shall expend upon occasions, nor to call them to accompt for their imployment of what is expended, which I conceive to be intended where there are not *Pacta inter Principem & Populum*; nor fundamentall Lawes of the Land to the contrary. Calv. in ver. 6.

7. Seaventhly, we must expresse our subjection by guard-

2 Sam. 8. 11, 12. Et 10.26. 2 Sam. 2. 2 Sam. 11. 11. ing of the Princes person, fighting for him upon occasion, and sparing him from going out with us to battell, lest he should quench the light of *Israel*, (2 *Sam.* 21. 17.) And what kind of consciences those men have, who can let their liege Lord goe out to battell without them, (they being required) or who can leave him in his Tents in the field, when they returne to their owne houses, I leave both to men experienced in the Word, and practiced in the Sword to consider: And so proceed

3. To the third part of my Text, which is the necessity of this duty of subjection, implyed in these words [*must needs*.] Must is for the King, and so it is indeed; and so is this: And therefore implies a double duty by these two words [*must*] and [*needs*] termes of double necessity; *Dominus opus habet*, Our Lord the King, the Lord of us and all we have hath need, and who will not then let all goe presently? He must have it: The supporting of His State is that *Unum necessarium* for our safeties, and the safety of the whole Kingdome; and therefore the Apostle doth not onely say, 1. It is convenient that we be subject (*i. e.*) for ornament sake. 2. Or it is fit that wee be subject (*i. e.*) for order sake. 3. Or it is profitable that we be subject (*i. e.*) for providence and discretion sake. 4. Or it is contenting that we may be subject (*i. e.*) for peace and quiet sake. 5. But Ἀνάγκη, It is necessary *Obligationes juris & propter vim coactivam superioris, viz. quia tenemini & potestis ad hoc compelli ad profitendam veram subjectionem.* [*We must needs be subject*] for absolute necessity sake; *Necessitate salutis, &c.* even for the necessity of our salvation in Heaven, and of our safety upon earth. What is it but subjection which continues the blessed Harmony in Heaven amongst the Angels? What is it but Rebellion which bred that confusion in Hell amongst the damned spirits? What is it but subjection which can continue Peace, Plenty, Piety, Order, and Unanimity amongst men upon earth. Whereas Rebellion brings forth Warre, Waste, Wickednesse, Confusion, Desolation, and Destruction; wherefore for avoiding these, and preserving those, *We must needs be subject.* And so I come

Matth. 21. 3. Luke 10. 42. Dion: Carth:

4. To the persons obliged, which is the fourth thing proposed

posed in my Text, in this word [*Yee*] Καὶ ἱερεῖς εἰ τε, καὶ μοναχοὶ, καὶ Ἀπόστολοι, *Theoph.* And so Saint *Chrysostome* before him, Δείκνυς ὅτι πᾶσι ταῦτα διατάττεται, καὶ Ἱερεῦσι, καὶ μοναχοῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον. With whom consent *Theodoret* and *Oecumenius* amongst the *Greekes*, and *Greg. Mag.* and S. *Bernard* amongst the *Latines*, expresse themselves both in opinion and phrase to the selfe same purpose; we the Clergy, ye the Laity, we the Priests, ye the People; or ye the mighty Peeres, we the many multitude. 1. For neither are Peeres excepted and reserved like the *Lacedemonian* Ephori, *Roman* Tribunes, or *Athenian* Demarchi, to restraine the insolencies or exorbitances of Princes oppressions. 2. Nor are the Priests exempted like the *Roman* Hierarchie, to be insolent and exorbitant in the Commonweale. 3. Nor are the People priviledged (as is pretended by some Schismaticall *Demagogi*) to carry all by force of their collective body; But we and ye, 1. Peeres, 2. Priests, 3. People, must all needs be subject: And that

Calv. Inst. l. 4. c. 20.

Buchanan.

5. [*Not onely for feare, but even for conscience sake.*] which is the last member proposed for prosecution. [*Not onely for feare*] And yet we must be subject for feare too, which, *Cogit vel invitos, Marlorat.* Compells those that have no conscience; *Imo & possunt potestates etiam sine causa irasci, Hieron.* And yet we must feare and be subject too (though they oppresse our tender conscience) for feare of punishment from God, and from the Prince.

Theophylact. Lombard.

1. From God, who will not suffer his Ordinance to be contemned; *Non enim privati est hominis abrogare imperium ei quem Dominus cum potestate nobis praefecit. Calv.*

2. From the Prince; for, *Ultionem reposcere possunt magistratus ob dignitatis suae contemptum. Idem.* They may justly avenge the contempt of their Authority. 1. Either by their Lawes, by which *In legum transgressores & inobedientes severiter animadvertunt: Marlorat.* Or else by Armes; for, *Portat gladium*, He beares the sword, (*vers.* 4.) And if He draw it against Schismaticks, Hereticks, or Rebellious persons, *Magistratus justè punit gladio, Aug.* They must not cast off feare, and incourage themselves and their company against His commands,

Lib. 1. & Parmen. c. 7.

mands, as if resisting for the cause of God (as they pretend) they were to be accounted Martyrs; for they are no more capable of Martyrdome, dying in contempt of lawfull Magistracy, then the Idoll Priests, or the Devils themselves were by the subversion of their Temples, or ceasing of their Oracles, by vertue of our Saviours Incarnation; or by the command of the Emperour, converted to Christianity: *Aug. ubi supra.* But on the contrary it may be verified, that they who under the royall command of a rightfull King, obediently, conscionably, zealously, and couragiously fight against a Schismaticall, or Hereticall Rebellious people, (who make Religion the pretext for Rebellion) if they die, they die Martyrs; if they live, they live Confessors: and therefore we must feare even the Princes sword. That I may not insist upon losse of favour, friends, honour, credit, and the like; Although a wise man will consi-
Prov. 20. 2. der even in this, that the indignation of a King is as the roaring of a Lion; and if this Lion roare, who can but be afraid? for
Amos 3. 8. he that provoketh him to anger, sinnes against his owne soule; and what then shall become of his body? Or if any be so foolhardy as not to feare, yet must he be subject nevertheless, *Not onely for feare,*

[*But even for conscience sake.*] *Non solùm, quia resistere potentioribus & armatis impunè non liceret, quemadmodum tolerari solent injuria quæ propulsari nequeunt; Sed sponte docet obeundam hanc submissionem, ad quam verbo Dei obstringitur conscientia: Calv.*] Not onely because they are armed and can over-master us, for so men suffer injuries from private men, because they cannot withstand them: but the Apostle teacheth, that a Christian is bound to subjection to his Soveraigne by the Word of God; and the tye of conscience more firme and close, then by a Souldiers Belt, or Jaylors Bolts and Manacles: So that, *Etiamsi certò constaret nos manus illorum (alioqui valde longas) posse effugere; Marlorat.* Although we were assured that we could escape their reach, or oppose their power: Yea, *Etiamsi exarmatus esset magistratus quem impune lacescere, & contemnere liceret, nihilo magis id tentandum quàm si pœnam statim imminere cerneremus.* Although the Magistrate had

Ambros. Theophylact.

Calv.

had neither Armes, nor Armies, so that men might provoke and contemne his power in respect of punishment, yet must we not presume to neglect him any more, then if we did see Armes and Armies, Racks and Gibbets, and all Engines for execution prepared before us; *Quia nisi omnino subjiciamini Principi, polluta esset conscientia vestra obvians divinæ ordinationi. Bruno.* Because unlesse we be absolutely subject to our Prince, (pretend what purity we will) our conscience is defiled, and every step we march against him, we set our selves in battell array against the Ordinance of God: And indeed I cannot but wonder what hard hearts and cauterized consciences those men have, who doe not presently smite themselves, and their hearts die within them like *Nabals*, when they finde themselves guilty of subtracting subjection from their Prince, (a greater ingratitude then which cannot be excogitated, and ingratitude is one of the greatest sinnes;) for Subjects are obliged, 1 Sam. 25. 37.

1. By the rule of right Reason, to obey him, without whom we cannot be safe; but without the King the Common-weale cannot be safe, no more then a ship without a Pilot in a stormy Ocean; and therefore by the rule of right reason we must obey him.

2. By naturall equity, which bindes to doe good to them which doe good to us, but Kings and Princes doe good to us; for by their meanes we obtaine great quietnesse, and by their providence many worthy things are done to our Nation: By them we receive honour, enjoy riches, peace, plenty, and freely professe and practice piety; and therefore even for naturall equity, *We must needs be subject*, which is the least good we can doe to them. Act. 24. 2.

3. By morall civility we are bound to be subject to him who protects us; But Kings and Princes protect us from evill doers, who would violently take away our lives, insolently usurpe our lands, prodigally mispend our goods, lasciviously deflowre and ravish our wives, & mercilesly slave our children; yea, they are the Protectors and Defenders of our faith, and therefore we are bound at least not to rebell, sithence all these mischiefes

 have

have beene, are, and will be the effects of such disobedience; from which, *Good Lord deliver us.*

4. By Christian Religion and conscience, which enjoynes, that we must not resist the Ordinance of God; but Kings and Princes are the Ordinance of God, and therefore we must not resist them. *vers.* 1, 2.

And doe 1 Right reason, 2 Naturall equity, 3 Morall civility, 4 Christian Religion and conscience oblige us to subjection? Oh then take heed, and never trust any (though never so faire professors) who pretend conscience to countenance disobedience, at least to cast off subjection, as it is hard to disobey and not to rebell. Yet such alwayes have beene the faire pretences of the fowlest practices. Thus the colour of the common good to free the people from Subsidies, Taxes, and Oppressions (which then seemed by their Governours to lie upon them) led the people of the *Jewes*, yea and some *Romanes* too, to follow *Theudas*, *Judas* of *Galile*, *Catiline*, and their companions. Thus the Rebels of elder times in this Island christned their Insurrections, the Army of God and the holy Church, making Religion the Patronesse of their impiety. Thus *Jack Straw*, *Jack Cade*, *Wat Tyler*, Fryer *Ball*, alias *Wall*, and such others, made 1 The oppression of the Commons, 2 The insolency of the Nobility, 3 The covetousnesse of the Priests, and the inequality of men of equall merit, the vaile of all their violence and villany. Thus the Rebellions in the *North*, *Lincolnshire*, and *Norfolke*, were raised under pretence of 1 Reforming Religion, 2 Freedome of Conscience, and 3 Bettering the Common-weale; yea, and they are alwaies masked under the vizard of, 1 *Pro Lege*, 2 *Pro Grege*, 3 *Pro Rege*; whereas indeed they are against the King, breake the Lawes, and make spoile of the People, as *Josephus* relates the story of the Rebellious *Jewes*; pretending onely against *Florus* harsh, unjust, and cruell usage, and not against the *Romanes*: But as King *Agrippa* cleares it by his Remonstrance, They did but onely say so; for their actions were such as worse could not have beene done by the greatest Enemies of the *Romane* Empire, for they sacked the Townes, robbed the Treasuries, burnt the Houses, wasted

Ioseph. Antiq. Iudaic. l. 18. c. 1. & l. 20. c. 6.
Salust conjurat Catilin.
Speed.
Hollinshed Rich. 2. p. 429.
Grafton p. 330, 331
L. 2. de Bello Iudaic. c. 16.
Naucler.

wasted the Fields; neither were they the Townes, the Treasuries, the Houses, the Fields of *Florus*, but of the *Roman* Empire. I will not make Application, but sithence these things have ever beene so, I will onely conclude with *Solomons* Admonition: *My sonne, feare God and the King, and meddle not with them that are seditious; for suddenly shall their destruction come, and who knoweth the ruine of them?* Yet cetaine it is that ruined they shall be, and perhaps when themselves least suspect it, suddenly as with the Arrow of Lightning shot from the Bow of God, which may serve as a Corollary to our Apostles premises to inforce this conclusion, [*Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not onely for wrath, but even for conscience sake.*] Prov. 24. 21, 22.

Which God grant us all grace to be, for Jesus Christs sake, the Patterne and Patron of perfect obedience; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, power, might, majestie, and dominion, from this time forth for evermore.

Amen.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 2. lin. ult. *Margin*: for *Rocoll.* reade *Rolloc.* pag. 4. lin. 12. for *regnantur*, reade *regantur*. pag. 16. lin. ult. for inventions, reade injunctions. pag. 20. lin. 15. after these words [He must have it:] *adde*, in case of true absolute, imminent necessity, to save our selves and the publique, according to the Lawes of the Land. pag. 21. lin. 1 & 2. for κοὶ, reade κοὶν in all three places.